1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

travellers go to both types of mosque but students prefer the larger structure, since in it they can spend the time of their visit in receiving instruction.

The prospective guests are conducted to the mosque by the first native of the *bone* or *canton* who sees them, unless they come from a place at war with the local group. In the old days, Arabs were not always as hospitably received as were Berbers, although Arabs seldom came. Jews and Christians, of course, almost never appeared, so that the problem of their entertainment seldom arose. The former would have been received by a volley of stones, and the latter by bullets.

The building in which the guest is received has a special room set aside for entertainment, beside the room in which the Friday sermon takes place or prayers are made, and the room in which school is held. In the saint's tomb there are usually two rooms, that intended for entertainment and that in which the saint's remains are buried. A saint's tomb is considered sanctuary, and anyone fleeing from murder may enter and be immune from violence until such time as he shall depart. Many mosques, of both types, are saint's tombs as well; most of them are associated with deceased celebrities.

The village mosque is used for the following purposes: for private prayer by individuals; for meetings of the village council; as a general lounging place and social center, especially for the old men; as a school, in which the pupils sleep during vacations; and as a guest house.

The cantonal mosque is used as a place of prayer by *bones* in daily rotation, as related in the discussion of the duties of the village council;[1] as a school of higher learning and a dormitory for students; as a guest house; and as the common place of worship on Fridays, when the head of this mosque delivers a sermon in the morning.

The saint's tomb is used as sanctuary by fugitives; as a social center for women; and as a place to which pilgrimages are made for imbibing some of the emanation of the saint, supposedly beneficial for specific ailments or requirements. So many of the mosques contain saintly remains that the uses just described apply to most of them as well.

EDUCATION

The older men of each *bone* informally decide on a *fkih*, (plural *fuḳaha'*) or "schoolmaster,"[2] to teach the boys in the village mosque. They select some man of their village or a stranger, more frequently the latter. He must be a man of considerable ability in writing and with a fair knowledge of the Koran. He stands in front of the mosque at sunrise and at noon to call the pupils.

School is held from sunrise (*sba*) to ten o'clock (*d-har*), and from noon (*d-hor*) to about four o'clock (*asr*). The pupils have Thursday afternoons and Fridays off. They have as vacations twenty days at *aid el kebir*, twenty at *aid es sghir*, ten days at *'ashor*, and a week at *haggus*.

The *bone* pays the schoolmaster in barley, raisins, and oil. The amount of each commodity given per year is set in advance. An average salary would be 100 *mudd*[3] of barley,

[1] See p. 100.

[2] This title is applied to two different officials, between whom a distinction should be made, despite the fact that the word *fkih* is a somewhat familiar one to European readers.

[3] The *mudd* is a measure of both volume and weight, common in all of Morocco. Its value varies from place to place. In Gennaya it is equivalent to 16 kilos, in Beni Urriaghel 40, in Beni Tusin 13, in Beni Amart 35, and in Beni Said 30.

3: Hart E-5 (1953-1954)1954 MX3 Rif MX3

industrious, and an excellent farmer who has, with the primitive tools at his disposal, managed to raise the maximun possible number of crops on a very rocky and infertile soil.

It seems therefore possible that the city Arab's reaction to the tribesman from Aith Wuryāghil is born partly out of fear; the Wuryāghlī, in turn, has a low opinion of most Moroccan Arabs despite the fact that they gave him his religion. The most lasting impression which he makes on the outside observer is one of sturdy self-reliance and complete individualism coupled with extreme pugnacity. He follows the dictates of his culture to the letter, and, in the last analysis, it is only within the context of the patterns of that culture that he can be accurately judged.

671 of a compressed crowd which, hooded and silent in a semi-circle, hears its own echo in the voice of one of its constituents calling out to the four winds in a harsh thamazighth accent and with graphic gestures, while the black muzzles of rifles above their heads make the moment more solemn and the silence more impressive and represent the law, a strong, hard and impassioned law, the primitive law of the pastoral (sic) peoples. And if we ourselves might have had the good fortune to be eye-witnesses, perhaps we would have felt the chill of the anathema against our brethren for making them responsible for our acts.

[539] Qanun of the Sub-Clan of the Aith 'Adhiya: ".....all of the above-mentioned villages of the Bni 'Adhiya shall unite against him and burn his estate and that of his brothers; they shall drag them from their houses and exact from them one thousand duros as fine".

671 829 609 Do not ask the Rifians about their qanums, as they do not like to reveal them; they know them to be modest, they fear that they will not be understood and that they will be considered as a joke; they guard them and conceal them as carefully as the dearest members of their families, as their own tongue, with an understandable atavism; and so strong is the feeling of mistrust that it would be offensive and erroneous to attribute to them an inferiority complex; and if, in circumstantial preservation, you wanted to learn their language, they would invariably try to dissuade you with bitter phrases which they once might have heard, if not from your lips from those of your brother officers; and one does not know whether to think the sad reproach, the instinctive defense of the community or an absurd conviction is 829 the reason[3]. They speak disparagingly of their own language as of

671 Paragraph e: This paragraph distinguishes principals from accomplices or auxiliaries.

671 181 Paragraph f: A virile and rural society distrusts the veracity of the so-called humanitarian sentiments, closing its doors to the intrigues which, under such a mask, provoke influential individuals to save their allies and other interested aspirations which mock the objectives that the law, to which they freely gave themselves, pursues.

671 609 628 Paragraph g: We have here a precise and exact detail, an excellent delimitation of a truce, a recognition of Rifian public law (i.e. jural procedure) and interest protecting the stranger, to whom this law guarantees a wide and sufficient time of commercial activity and a prudent warning that he leave an open field to the fierce internal bloodfeuding. We have here a manifestation of the social unit, 671 609 614 the clan, which shows us its reality and consistency, which recognizes a common interest and one superior to its own intestinal vendettas; and this permits it to guarantee to the neutral, to the stranger, a free passage and activity throughout its whole territory (author's italics).

671 695 Paragraph h: Two important additions are made here to the hurried first draft. It is necessary, first, to guarantee the person of the accused against the passions of the moment, the outward appearances, the ill-will and the outright suspicions, by means of evident proof (author's italics), offering him the means of avoiding such passions by taking oath. And in the second addendum (Paragraph i) they list, furthermore, and completing it, the duration of the truce or time of peace.

FOOTNOTES:

000 1--The term used by Blanco is "compenetración".

[128] 2--Blanco's sentence construction is often long and involved; literal translation into English does not generally do it justice, and we have had to take certain liberties.

671 829 609 648 3--In nearly five years in the Rif, we only met three Spaniards (none of whom was a tribal administrator) who spoke Rifian really well; and on countless occasions Rifians told me, "You, an American, have only been here among us for two (or three, or four, etc.) years, and you speak our language very well; the Spaniards have been here for forty years and have never made the effort to understand a word of it!" 648 Statements of this kind show how clearly the two communities remained apart from one another; and they also show, more obliquely, how deficient the linguistic and sociological training of Spanish officers in Morocco was, particularly in comparison with their French counterparts. In the French Zone, it was virtually a sine qua non that an officer who was scheduled to administer a Berber tribe be able to speak the language fluently. In the Spanish Zone, this was not so; and even the number of administrators who could speak Moroccan Arabic properly was small.

000 [177] 4--Only in a manner of speaking. Resistance to cultural change may seem to be outstanding in the Rif; but if one should compare the Rif with, for example, the Central Atlas at the present day, the former immediately emerges as far the more "acculturated" of the two areas. The reasons for this, furthermore, are not far to seek: greater accessibility, the Arabization tactics of 'Abd al-Krim, and longer contact with Europeans. [181] [609] Rifian hardheadedness and distrust of outsiders are perhaps unique even in Morocco, however, and the result on the level of acceptance or rejection of outside ways has thus been to a considerable extent a matter of the Rifians' own choice; and this is probably what Blanco means.

It is hardly necessary to point out that Rifians do not constitute a "race".

[114] 5--This is a Spanish attempt to penetrate a Berber mode of thought behind an Arabic turn of phrase; and it is rendered all the more difficult by the fact that Blanco knew neither language well, if at all.

6--This seems a Rousseau-esque yearning for, one might say, the jural "simplicity" of the Rif as opposed to the "institutional and legal complexity" of Europe!

[114] 7--Blanco wrongly spells this word islifen.

8--The injection of both patriotism (and/or chauvinism) and value judgments into a work of this sort is something which neither Spanish nor French tribal administrators in Morocco seemed to be able to get [114] away from. More suspect, however, is perhaps Blanco's wish that Rifian law be treated by qualified professional jurists--José María Paniagua y Santos (op. cit., 1948 and 1950) did just this, and the results were a complete fiasco; at least in terms of usefulness of the materials to anthropologists.

443 townsmen were traders who carried their vegetables and flowers
829 on foot or bus to distant parts of the regional market in order to achieve maximum profits. The Riffian seeks only to make an exchange in his local market in order that he might get back to the more important aspects of his life.

443 Such exchange, however, is not without calculation. As I
438 mentioned earlier in this chapter, the Berber goes to his local
182 suq because it satisfies certain social needs. He likewise frequents the market because it offers him clear-cut economic
443 advantage. It is here that he has acquaintances among the mer-
438 chants, craftsmen and occupational specialists with whom he has
571 certain guarantees, based on familiarity, that he will receive a fair price. Such assurance is absent in a foreign market.
[609] Invariably, the stranger pays more for a service or good than the regular customer. In the most important aspect of trade, that of livestock, this consideration is coupled with that of
443 transportation. From the standpoint of seeking out the best
438 price based on multiple competition, the larger the market,
435 the better the prices. In the long run, the best price for animals exists in the larger markets and one knows beforehand that an animal sold in Had Ruadi or Arba Taurirt will fetch a lower price than at Beni Bu Iyash. Yet to sell in such a market the fellah is faced with almost insurmountable difficulties. Should he take his livestock--a goat tied across the back of his mule or a cow herded along on foot--to a market further than his local suq, he must return the animal home or be entirely

1: Coon E-5 (no date) 1951 M1 Middle East M1

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able since much of it is not mountain at all, but open rolling country.

The Riffians are tough fighters. They won Spain for Franco, on a promise of freedom given them on the Yellow Plain of Ktama. One of them, ʿAbd el-Krīm's jailer, once told me that he gave the Christian prisoners dirt mixed in their bread; this is nothing to what the Christians have done to them, which, out of deference to the sensitivity of my readers, I shall not print here. Needless to say, the Riffians buried no one alive in anthills, nor have their women hacked any prisoners to shreds. Having never visited the Pathans, I cannot make the same denial for them with as much conviction, but until shown otherwise I shall continue to believe that these tales come out of the same volume of fiction.

R 771 609 731

Reading about the Pathans, however, reminds me much of the Riffians, with a few differences. The Riffians live in wetter and more fertile country, with more vegetation, and, although good Muslims, make little display of their religious feelings. They keep the fast and all the main feasts, adding a few of their own. The older men refuse to smoke, and some even refuse tea. They confined Jews to a few coastal settlements, notably Bades and Melilla, while Christians were not admitted at all, before the days of ʿAbd el-Krīm, who let in Gordon Canning, Vincent Sheean, and a few others without demanding previous conversion. One is told that the Pathans are "fanatical," but this again may be a form of general xenophobia channeled through the symbolic mechanism of religion.

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The Pathans also are organized in tribes, divided into subtribes, partitioned into sections, split into clans, which are made up of patrilineal extended families.[9] Each family, clan, section, and subtribe has its head man, who represents his group in the *jirga,* or representative council of the group just above him. Like the Asht Arbaʿin, these councils convene to attempt to settle matters of dispute between their constituent members. Irrigation quarrels and cattle rustling are the chief business of the smaller jirgas, while adultery and murder draw the full tribal council, presided over by its chief officer, the khan. Like the amīn of a Kabyle village, he is often no more than a moderator. In case of murder, the killer flees the tribal territory at

[9] See H. Hörhager, *Die Volkstumsgrundlagen der Indischen nordwest-grenz Provinz* (Heidelberg, 1943). M. Elphinstone, *An Account of the Kingdom of Caubul and Its Dependencies* (London, 1825). C. Collin Davies, *The Problem of the Northwest Frontier, 1890-1908.*